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ceegapa, July 27, 1953.

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# PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

No. 893

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## The Balance Sheet of Korea

By Emrys Hughes, M.P.

PAGE SIX

Commons speech the Press ignored

## DEFENCE DEBATE UNREALISTIC

Economic crisis threatens

PROTEST very strongly against the way that, by a side door, the whole system of conscription is to be fastened on this nation for another five years," said Emrys Hughes in the House of Commons last week. He was speaking in the Debate on Defence.

The Leader of the House (Mr. Harry Crookshank), said Mr. Hughes, had let slip an important announcement. It was that on the question of continuing the National Service Act there was not to be legislation in the normal way, but an order in Council which would be slipped through, probably after a few hours' debate.

There were some members who wished to see the period of conscription, there were many more who wanted to do away with the whole system of forced labour. How were they to ignore of Rhee, or the intricate points of view adequately expressed in a debate on an Order in Council, on which there was no opportunity to put forward amendments?

There was anxiety on the part of members of all parts of the House to have the question of national service adequately discussed and there was absolutely no excuse for rushing it.

Speaking about national service and Korea, Mr. Hughes said: "the history of military intervention in Korea has been one of the most tragic and futile experiments in war, in which we have succeeded in destroying the whole history of war. This week we have had Ministers saying that we have won the war in Korea. The Russian leader Malenkov, says they won the war in Korea."

"All we know is that the people we went out to liberate in Korea have lost the war. A huge military organisation, continuing

Back page

## A peace policy for Labour

MORE MPs SUPPORT  
NON-VIOLENCE

A PEACE POLICY FOR LABOUR," is the title for the meeting being organised by the Labour Peace Fellowship in connection with the Labour Party Conference at Margate on September 30, at 8 p.m.

Speakers will include, Ritchie Calder, Harold Sorensen, MP (President of the LPF) and Emrys Hughes, MP. The meeting will be held in the Pioneer Hall, Margate, on September 30, at 8 p.m.

The LPF has gained many new supporters in the House of Commons and new vice-presidents include Fenner Brockway, George Woodcock, Ernest Fernyhough, Emrys Hughes and George Thomas.

The basis of the Fellowship has recently been broadened so as to include those who are willing to co-operate in non-violent activities for the long-term promotion of peace as well as those who refuse individual participation in war.

Many MPs have indicated a willingness to join the Fellowship, but reports that appeared in the Manchester Guardian and other national newspapers last weekend that 80 MPs had joined the LPF should be treated with reserve.

Force destroys ends

The Fellowship, says a statement of aims, works for the ending of capitalism, fear and property, believing them to be root causes of modern war. History shows them that capitalism in an era of depression tends to large-scale rearmament programmes as a means of staving off economic collapse and maintaining full employment. It looks forward to the establishment of democratic capitalism in all lands.

The Fellowship contends that military force largely destroys the ends for which it is used. But the refusal to use war and violence carries with it the obligation to resist tyranny and injustice by non-violent means.

Members of the LPF are expected to apply the principles in everyday affairs and seek constantly to resolve disputes by peaceful means.

It is hoped to form local groups in the near future. Information may be obtained from the Secretary, Denis Brian, 24a Breakers Rd., London, S.E.4.

## MILITARISM KEEPS UPPER HAND IN BRITAIN'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

### EXPULSION THREAT FOR SCHOOLBOY WITH A CONSCIENCE

HARROW SCHOOL will expel a pupil who refuses to join the School Cadet Force, London Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors learned recently.

Gervais Duffield, of Moreton House, Harrow School, Middlesex, was appealing for exemption from military service on religious grounds.

He explained to the tribunal that in order to stay at Harrow he was compelled to become a member of the Combined Cadet Force. He did not, however, play an active part and refused promotion, pointing out to the Commandant his conscientious scruples. These were recognised to the extent that he was placed in the Naval Section, which was the least offensive one, and at camp he was given purely administrative duties.

The Chairman, Judge Sir Gerald Hargreaves (an old Etonian) found it difficult to believe that Harrow would expel a pupil for this reason, saying that if it did so, the pupil's education was finished as he would not be able to get into another public school.

But the school Chaplain, Rev. Philip Bryant, said it was a condition that all pupils should belong to the Cadet Force. In Duffield's case the school would not take the view that he was assisting in killing by being a member of the Cadets.

Rev. Bryant said that Duffield's argument against non-combatant service was that he did not want a soft job in a part of the Army which would be helping in war.

The Tribunal did not take this view and granted exemption from combatant duties only, saying that his membership of the Combined Cadet Force was parallel to non-combatant work in the Army.

FOOTNOTE.—A year ago the City of London School expelled 18-year-old Paul Brown who objected to service in the School's Combined Cadet Force. They made it clear that Brown was in every other respect an excellent pupil. Change of school at such a critical period in his studies meant a serious handicap.

## CO's stop riot save life

TWO American conscientious objectors performing alternative service as orderlies in Colorado State Hospital are credited with saving the life of an attendant.

The attendant, who was not liked by the mental patients, was attacked by some of them. The man was wounded and a riot began. The two COs entered the ward during the riot and brought out the injured man.

They used chairs to ward off blows with bottles and clubs. They were also successful in talking the patients into ending the riot.

During the riot no one else was allowed to enter the ward, because the authorities thought that it would only endanger additional lives. It was felt that the successful conclusion of the incident would not have been possible except for the friendly relationship established with the patients previously by the COs.

In World War II American conscientious objectors asked to be allowed to work amongst violent patients in US mental hospitals.

The CO's exposure of the excessive use of violence by attendants, and their adoption of non-violent techniques, brought revolutionary changes in many institutions.

## World moving towards peace

—NEHRU

"THE world is making a turn towards the direction of peace," said Premier Nehru of India last week in welcoming the signing of the truce agreement in Korea.

The question of China's representation at UN was one issue which ultimately had to be faced said Mr. Nehru, but he argued that the political conference following the truce should in the first instance confine itself to the problem of Korea.

He said that India would welcome the holding of the Korean political conference in Delhi.

Turning to the general world scene Mr. Nehru said that the policy pursued by the Soviet Union during the past months was "definitely a policy in search of peace and relieving tension."

He thought that one could judge a country's policy even more by what happened internally than what happened externally.

The fact was clear that the Soviet Government had been trying to lessen tension.

The same could be said of China which had refrained from taking a stiff position despite President Rhee's attitude.

## Men of non-violence well represented at UN Commission

THE UN Commission on the racial situation in South Africa has been sitting this week in Geneva.

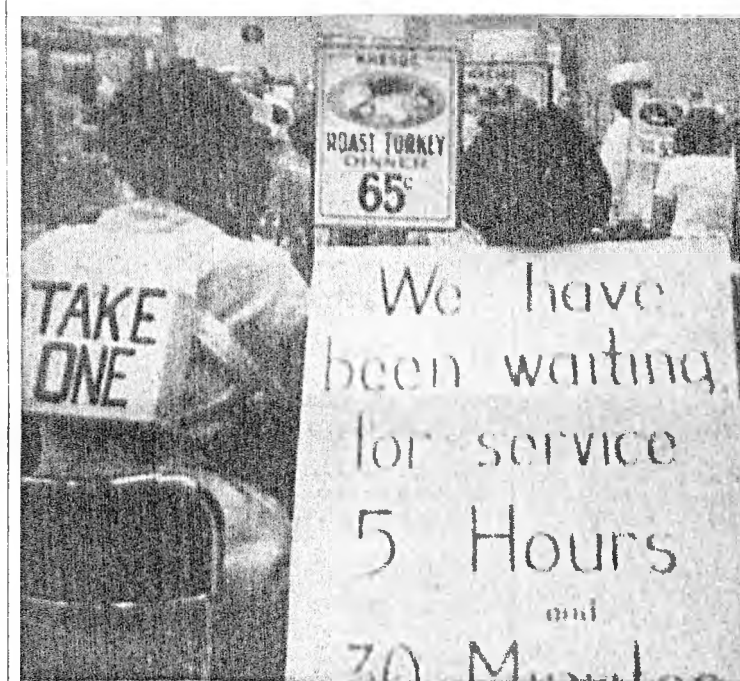
Beginning on Monday it has been hearing the testimony of several persons. Mr. Solly Sachs, general secretary of the South African Garment Workers' Union, was heard on Monday when he called for the sincere application of the UN's principles with regard to South Africa.

Others who were to be heard include Rev. Michael Scott who was in Southern Africa for several years and participated in non-violent demonstrations against segregation laws before the advent of the Malan Government; Mr. John Hatch, author of The Dilemma of South Africa; Mr. H. S. L. Polak, who was a colleague of Mahatma Gandhi at the time when he was practising in South Africa, and who founded the London Vegetarian Society; Mr. Tom Wardle, Peace News staff member.

Tom Wardle was due to leave London airport on Wednesday for Geneva and to present his testimony there tomorrow (Saturday).

## Gandhi film released in USA

The documentary film "Mahatma Gandhi, Twentieth Century Prophet" has been released in the United States. San Francisco pacifists distributed literature to persons attending the film-show.



When this picture appeared in the "Race Relations" issue of Peace News (June 26), we were not able to announce the success of the campaign to end the colour bar at chain-store lunch-counters in St. Louis, USA. This week we are able to do so, and another triumph in Washington.

Picture shows member of the St. Louis Committee of Racial Equality staging a "sit down" at one of the lunch-counters. The "take-one" box contains leaflets describing their action. The times shown on the large board were altered as the demonstration continued.

## "PEACE HATH HER VICTORIES..."

### Colour bar goes from Washington restaurants

RACE discrimination in restaurants in the capital of the USA has been abandoned.

This follows a Supreme Court decision on June 2 and years of non-violent direct action by American pacifists in Washington who have organised an "Inter-racial Workshop" annually in the capital.

That the abandonment of discrimination is a fact was demonstrated by this year's Inter-racial Workshop, which sent small inter-racial groups to some 20 eating places in the centre of the city.

Negroes were served in all cases.

In addition, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the pacifist-sponsored body organising the campaigns, learns that there were many cases of other Negroes not belonging to their organised testing groups, who got served in previously "lily-white" restaurants on the very day that the High Court decision was handed down.

Involved in the Supreme Court decision were anti-discrimination laws passed in 1872 and 1873 by a legislative assembly of the District of Columbia.

Justice William O. Douglas, who wrote the opinion of the court in its 8-0 decision, held:

"The Acts of 1872 and 1873 survived, we think, all subsequent changes in the government of the District of Columbia and remain today a part of the governing body of laws applicable to the District. The failure of the Executive Branch to enforce a law does not result in its modification or repeal. The repeal of laws is as much a legislative function as their enactment."

Justice Douglas was bitterly attacked in the US Press following his decision to grant a stay of execution in the Rosenberg case.

## Victory in St. Louis

In another city—St. Louis—a CORE group have been able to wind-up a three-and-a-half-year campaign to end discrimination at the lunch counters of downtown dime stores.

Four chain-store companies were involved: Kresge's, Neisner's, Woolworth's and McCrory's.

Three-and-a-half-years ago the local CORE group began talks with the managers of the St. Louis branches of all four, asking them to start serving Negroes at white counters.

When these talks were unsuccessful the group organised poster parades and "sit-in" demonstrations to bring the matter before the public.

The four stores then agreed to allow one or two Negroes a week to be served at white counter to test customer-reaction.

After several months the experiments proved that most white people were completely indifferent as to who was sitting at the counter.

Kresge's, Neisner's and Woolworth's changed their policy and served everybody. McCrory's maintained the colour bar.

Finally Billie Ames, of the St. Louis CORE group, wrote to McCrory's head office in New York, outlined CORE's campaign and told the head office that their local manager was about to change the policy when he was replaced by a new man.

His successor was adamant in maintaining the colour bar.

Result of the letter: An order from New York that McCrory's should come into line with the other stores!



## PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

7th August, 1953

### CHINA AND UN

**A**PART from the political future of Korea, the most urgent question following the Korean truce is the admission of China to the United Nations.

China should be given her place, not as part of a bargain for which she (or Russia) is asked to pay by concessions on policy, but because it is right that it should be done.

Britain has recognised the government of Mao Tse-tung and, despite the early action taken by Mr. Dulles to make such a step more difficult, should take the initiative in seeking the admission of that government to UNO and the displacement of the government of Chiang Kai-shek.

The present piece of misrepresentation in the United Nations is particularly undesirable because the representative of China has the power of the veto which goes with one of the permanent seats on the Security Council.

It is clear that the USA will try to block the admission of the Peking Government, but this should not prevent Great Britain from raising the matter.

Even if the attempt does not succeed a great deal will be gained if we can make it clear at this point that the American policy with regard to China is not ours. This should have been done much more forcefully following upon the British recognition of Peking; and if it had been done it is possible that there would have been no war with China arising out of the Korean situation.

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It is true that the United Nations were reluctantly brought by America to the declaration that the Peking Government was an aggressor. This, however, is not how the Chinese Government sees itself. It has the view that it was undertaking necessary defence action against a government that was sustaining and building up its declared enemy.

With the Americans opening the way for Chiang up to the Yalu, the Chinese position would have become much weaker than if the Americans had stabilised their line at the 38th parallel; and we are in no position to condemn the Chinese for holding the view that the exclusion of an enemy power from Northern Korea was necessary to its security when we have spent three quarters of a century in obstinately asserting that a degree of British military control as far away as Egypt is necessary to our security.

As for the USA, to assume that she needs a periphery of defence that involves arsenals and air-bases all over the world—throughout Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and as near to China as Japan—while the Chinese have no need to be concerned about what is happening as near to them as Northern Korea is ludicrous. Unfortunately the USA assumes that everybody else in the world will take its aims and intentions at its own valuation.

America's policy regarding China, so heavily supported in the ranks of the Republican Party, may quite likely lead to war in the East; and it is as a consequence of war in the East that Russia might feel impelled to march into Europe.

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America's feverish desire to get NATO complemented by the construction of the European Defence Community is not explained purely by her fears that Russia might be tempted Westwards; it has been felt to be a necessary corollary of what may be happening in the East.

While America is the declared enemy of China, Europeans will have greater security the less they are tied up with American policy.

Mr. Dulles has intimated that the US Government might use the veto to prevent the entrance of China, although his predecessor promised this would not be done.

The USA may threaten to withdraw from UN if the Mao Tse-tung Government should be admitted. Indeed, Senator Knowland, leader of the Republican Party during the illness of Senator Taft, has already intimated that a withdrawal of the USA in such circumstances is a possibility.

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These threats should not deter Britain from taking every step to bring about the admission of China.

If UNO has to choose between proceeding without China or without the USA it would be better in present circumstances that it should dispense with the USA.

The door would be open for America to return later, and, although its departure is not to be sought, it would not be without certain immediate compensations.

UN Headquarters could be brought away from New York for instance, and from the demoralising pressures to which it has been subjected there: the operations of the UN at the beginning and the end of the Korean war under the pressure of the American initiative have not provided a model for the future conduct of UN affairs.

Great Britain's position in relation to China does not depend upon a problematic Four-Power conference. It should here and now make it clear that it wants China brought into UN; and that it proposes to take immediate steps to improve its economic position by developing trade with China.

### The Settlers get their way

**T**HE Order in Council which brings into being the Central African Federation scheme has now passed through the Commons and by the time this note appears it is likely that it will have been signed by the Queen.

On the occasion of the passing of the Order, speaking with some feeling, Mr. Lyttelton said that there was nothing in the British record which should lead anybody to suppose that the humanity and experience of a race which has written so many democratic constitutions would be thrown aside in Central Africa.

Perhaps not; but Mr. Lyttelton's chief, Sir Winston Churchill, must have had something in mind when he said, many years ago, "It will be an ill day for the native races when their fortunes are removed from the impartial administration of the Crown and abandoned to the fierce self-interest of a small white population."

### No amnesty for them

**T**HE French Government has recently decided upon an amnesty for those accused of crimes of "collaboration" during the war.

The Senate has decided that this amnesty cannot be applied to those who refuse war service on the ground of conscience. The attitude of the war resister is, of course, quite different from that of the collaborator as the war resister will equally refuse to serve the military aims of an invading enemy.

This amnesty thus applies to those who passed to the side of the enemy, but not to those who refused to fight on either side.

It is very evident from the French Press that there is much uneasiness in French public opinion regarding the implications of this decision, which obviously contains an affront to the sense of justice of those who operated with the "resistance."

In its substance the decision is inevitable, however. The amnesty could be applied to the man who refuses war service as well as to the man who consented to fight on the side of the enemy; but in the case of the former, if his objection is genuine, he will only be compelled to commit the same offence again, and there is thus no point in amnestying him. (There is, of

## BEHIND THE NEWS

course, the unfortunate aspect that the spurious CO is made to suffer because of the genuine one!)

The French authorities fear that if they do not retain the right of repeated sentences for conscientious refusal to undertake military service, they will effectively destroy the system of conscription; so this discrimination against the genuine conscientious objector must go on.

The French authorities, incidentally, have no more liking for the British provisions for the recognition of conscientious objectors than have the Italian and the Russian.

### Managerialism

**T**HE DAILY TELEGRAPH recently remarked that among British workers there was less of the influence of the Kremlin to be observed "than the influence of the totally Utopian self-confidence which Robert Owen had so clearly and so disastrously expressed"; and "among the proletariat there is a strong emotional urge for some kind of vaguely conceived syndicalism."

We have little faith in the capacity of the Daily Telegraph to perceive trends in working-class thought, but we hope that in this respect it may be right.

If there is this emotional urge for what the Daily Telegraph describes as "syndicalism," however vaguely conceived, it is a healthy sign, an indication of a resistance to the totalitarian direction taken by the dominant schools of political thought in the last two decades.

But it certainly need not remain vague. There is available a valuable body of thought, prompted by a precisely similar urge, to be found in the "Guild Socialist" discussion of a quarter of a century ago. From this discussion

many books came with a number of important contributions to social theory.

These were certainly not vague; sometimes they erred in that they sought to provide complete and detailed answer to every question that arose; and they would certainly have to be thought about and worked out again in the light of the changes in the situation. We believe, however, that in these discussions is to be found the one distinctive British contribution that has been made in the field of Socialist thought, and we should be glad to know that this had not been lost.

What explains the "strong emotional urge" referred to by the Telegraph is that no less a political party today provides any kind of leadership that the rapid drive we are experiencing towards totalitarian forms with "managerialist" control can be stemmed.

Conservatives, Labour and Communists all equally accept managerialism. They all have a deep distrust of any proposal that would give the worker real control over his own conditions of life. What is wanted today are the spokesmen to make articulate and specific the workers' vague emotional urge.

### Freedom of cultural exchanges

**T**HE Recommendations of the Cultural Commission at the recent meeting of the World Council of Peace at Budapest had a rather different character from the general statement issued by the Council.

This letter, although it had dropped the call for a Five-Power Pact, was not in an essential aspect different from the pronouncements that have gone before.

There is however one aspect of the recommendations of the cultural commission which we do not think could have had a place in the kind of statement before the death of Stalin.

This is the reference to the need for the removal of obstacles in the way of people of different lands becoming known to each other.

The paragraph on exchanges by cultural organisations is in the old style. It reads:

We recommend all cultural organisations and institutes, universities and libraries, societies of learned and literary men, associations of technicians and professional groups, associations of women, young people, students, etc., to organise on a reciprocal basis, with mutual respect for national cultures, visits, gatherings, the exchange of publications and exhibitions from country to country, between countries of a particular region, and on a world scale.

This, of course lends itself to the arrangement of handicapped and controlled parties.

The preceding paragraph, however, is upon public opinion to influence governments so that "individuals, books, films, plays, and works of art may become known to all peoples."

The most important word is "individuals." The greatest advance will have been made in the resumption of international contact when it has become as easy for a man in a given country to visit any other country as it is today for a Frenchman to visit England or an Englishman to visit France.

This kind of freedom does not of course remove the economic difficulties that the mass of average income has to meet, but we do know that we are making advances which are as easy for a resident in Budapest to visit Belgrade, or a resident in Prague to visit Munich (and in both cases vice versa) as it is for a resident in Brussels to visit Paris or vice versa.

That it should also be easy for a resident in Stettin to visit his cousin in Hamburg and vice versa is of course not to be looked for. The development of the other possibilities might help to bring it nearer.

### The Nigerian Conference

**I**T would not be surprising if the Colonial Office were working on the old principle of letting the delegates "kill themselves to death" in the present conference in London on the future of Nigeria.

It is a tried and trusted imperial practice. Mr. Lyttelton has not given much indication during his term of office that he was anxious for West Africa to leave the Empire. Recent Company reports which tell of increased profits in the area are no doubt connected.

One possible outcome of the present conference is that supporters of national independence may be led to accept the argument that because the feudal states of the North wish to remain in the Empire rather than be subordinate to a Central Nigerian Government they should be overruled in favour of the centralist parties.

While Nigeria's claim for independence is just and should be met at once, it would be short-sighted to foster a centralised political and economic machine in the country. It is profoundly to be hoped that Africa will produce something different in the way of social relationships from what we have known in the West.

If she is not to fall for the same spectacular arguments and power tricks that have poisoned our civilisation then her people will remain healthily suspicious of any tendencies to central control and political discipline. Africa's liberation can be worked out along another path. Those who admire the humanity of the Nigerian people will hope that the political bosses will not have it all their own way.

## Letter to President Eisenhower

President Dwight D. Eisenhower,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

That portion of your letter of July 23, 1953, to Chancellor Adenauer, of the West German Republic, in which you undertake to warn the German people against "disarmament in the midst of other nations still heavily armed" and against the proposal that Germany be neutralised, strikes us as open to grave question both from a moral and a political point of view.

The fact that you single out the concept of a unified, neutralised and disarmed Germany for attack makes it clear that you and your State Department under the leadership of Mr. John Foster Dulles recognise that the movement in Germany against rearmament is powerful and can only by very extreme measures be thwarted.

If after all they have experienced and endured the German people wished to rebuild their armed forces again, would this not be unutterably tragic? If, on the other hand, multitudes of Germans cannot emotionally, or in good conscience, bring themselves to take the military road again, shall we not do all in our power to help them and at the very least refrain from tempting them to rearm or placing obstacles in the way of their determination to try a non-violent way?

We plead earnestly, therefore, for re-consideration of the stand you have taken in this matter. We respectfully suggest that you have in this supremely critical moment the opportunity to perform an act of statesmanship, political courage and religious faith, leading toward the realisation of the vision of peace which you held before mankind in your address of April 16.

This would be to grant the German people freedom, so far as it is in American power, to make their own decision about rearmament but to assure them utmost support if as a united nation they decide to remain forever unarmed and ask that their neutrality be guaranteed by other nations, perhaps under the supervision of the United Nations.

Such a move on the part of the United States would constitute a genuine test as to whether the Russian government desired peace, not merely a precarious truce. It would do this, because the adoption of some such course as this would also be conclusive evidence that our own nation desires peace and has faith that peace is possible, not merely a precarious and deceptive truce. There are other compelling reasons for opposing German rearmament to the utmost.

A frightfully costly World War was fought—perhaps we should say two World Wars—to destroy German militarism forever. After World War II permanent disarmament of Germany was part of United States policy. Teaching the German people to eschew the thought of rearming was part of the process

by which they were to be educated for "democracy." For the United States now actually to intervene in face of the opposition and doubts of multitudes of Germans, in order to drive them toward rebuilding a modern military machine is, we submit, morally shocking. It must result in confusing and undermining moral values and standards and fostering cynicism among the German people and throughout the world.

Even if its military establishment is in some manner incorporated in a "European Defence Community," a rearmaged Germany, with its vast resources, skilled manpower and vestiges of the nationalism, militarism, and authoritarianism which wrought such havoc in the past, will be in a position again, as in the past, to play the East and West against each other in the power struggle.

This revival of the alignment which existed before World War II clearly forebodes trouble for the United States and other nations in the future. It is contrary to the true interests of the United States.

Presumably, you do not think that the German people need fear anything from the United States, though it is certainly "still heavily armed." Under the circumstances, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that in your opinion Germany needs defence against some nation or nations and that you deem it imperative from the standpoint of United States "defence" considerations that Germany should be well equipped against this potential "enemy" or these "enemies."

If—as may in a minor degree be the case—you have France in mind in this connection, your advocacy of a well-armed Germany can only serve the Kremlin's purpose of promoting distrust and division between France, Germany and the United States. If—as is certain—you have Soviet Russia and the Communist bloc in mind as the "enemy," then you are announcing in advance of the proposed Four Power Conference on Germany that the United States will only accept a "peace" which puts a united and rearmaged Germany in the American "defence" or "power" bloc.

You are also saying that the present and/or pending "negotiations" between Russia and the United States are aimed at defining their respective "spheres of influence" on the basis of their military strength and potential.

Such crude jockeying for power position is not and never has been the way to peace. It is not the way to overcome Communist totalitarianism. At best it means a brief and mostly illusory slackening of the armaments race. As in the past this will soon lead to an intensification of the atomic arms race and to all-out war. How much better to give up these old, evil ways and to use the revulsion of a large portion of the German people against militarism to give impetus to a great movement for universal disarmament!

With our earnest prayers that you and your colleagues may indeed seek and receive divine guidance in this fateful hour, I am,

Sincerely yours,  
A. J. MUSTE.







# LIMITED WAR

Christianity, Diplomacy and War, by Herbert Butterfield. Epworth Press 8s. 6d.

**PROFESSOR BUTTERFIELD** is not a pacifist, though (like many non-pacifists today) he is willing to allow considerable value to pacifism as an extreme protest. A reviewer for Peace News has therefore to make up his mind whether to chide him on this account or to express gratitude for what he does here, as a historian, to expose war in all its hideous cruelties and preposterous folly. I shall take the second course.

Readers of his earlier books will be familiar already with the main thesis of this. The twentieth century has made the mistake of going back to the position of the seventeenth with its wars of religion, Democracy and Communism taking the place of Catholicism and Protestantism. Hence we are threatened by the most terrible of all wars, "the war for righteousness," in which the enemy is a devil in human form, compromise is out of the question, and total war is waged with the final destruction of the enemy as its aim. In between, men had learned wisdom and preserved European civilisation by a delicate balance of power in which wars were waged only for definite and limited ends and never for the destruction of the other party. He would have us find the way to a similar state of things in our own day.

As an instance of the kind of limited war he would regard as justified, Professor Butterfield cites what is happening in Korea. But has he reflected that a war of this kind is limited only from the point of view of the great Powers engaged in it, and not at all so for the unfortunate small country they vow to total destruction between them? And does not this experience suggest that such a war is at least as difficult to stop as any "war for righteousness" would be, though admittedly for different reasons?

The last chapter of the book is most valuable, as it is a cool, clear analysis of what is involved in the East-West conflict, with the conclusion that "a crusade against Communism would be the surest way of establishing that very system over vast new areas of the world."

E. L. ALLEN.

## After Chiang

Daybreak in China, by Basil Davidson. Cape, 10s. 6d.

**AND** what a glorious, rosy dawn it is that Mr. Davidson describes:

Just the holiday book for those depressed by their gloomy outlook on the world with mushroom-shaped clouds gathering all around the horizon!

The author visited China for the first time last year and spent some months travelling quite widely and observing with a keen journalistic eye. There are accounts of city and of rural areas, of agricultural communities and of factories, of education of all types and

## NEW BOOKS

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### THE EPWORTH PRESS.

25-35, City Road, London, E.C.1.

## TRIBUNE

Socialist—Independent—Fearless

The new weekly, Fourpenny, Tribune brings you open discussion of the issues facing the Labour Movement, factual accounts of the impact of a Tory Government on ordinary people and the real facts about what is happening abroad. The Editorial Board are Jennie Lee, Michael Foot, Ian Mikardo and J. P. W. Mallalieu. Help to keep this independent socialist newspaper going, by ordering now.

Special Subscriptions for New Readers—2s. 6d. for nine issues posted directly to you. Send cash with order to Tribune, 222 Strand, London, W.C.2.

## Reviews of new books and pamphlets

grades, of marriage laws and of the arts. There is a particularly good chapter under the caption, "On Self-Criticism" dealing with the ideas animating all sorts of people devoted to the success of the Revolution. All is written vividly and with gusto by a visitor who is conscientiously trying to weigh things and to record his conclusions sincerely and without exaggeration.

And yet... If an Andaman Islander, neither speaking nor reading English, were to visit England (smallish and relatively homogeneous as it is) and to record his impressions, however interesting the results, they would not inspire complete confidence in all respects. Mr. Davidson had the advantage (so far as it is one) that he met more Chinese speaking English fluently than the hypothetical Islander would find speaking his own tongue here. Indeed, it is inevitable that much that he has recorded has in fact come through this medium. Though their number absolutely may be considerable, relatively they are a small minority, easily screened and indoctrinated, and to be relied on to give the straight official version every time. Consequently his account of the history leading up to the conquest of the whole mainland by Chu Teh's armies is precisely that to be found in various of Mao Tse Tung's speeches and pamphlets and similar orthodox sources—now, I believe, readily enough obtainable in English translations. Much the same applies to a good deal of the rest of the book. I am not suggesting that there is not considerable accordance with fact in the official version, and certainly it is both interesting and important that readers here should know that version.

Naturally Mr. Davidson is weakest in his references to the past. When I spent a year in Japan in 1927 what struck me as the most marked contrast with China was not its industrialisation, but how much higher was the position of Chinese women. No one would guess anything of the sort from this author's chapter on women. Nor has he realised the extent to which Chiang's regime was unpopular with intellectuals, teachers of all grades and their pupils almost throughout its course.

Mr. Davidson suggests there just is no dark

side to his picture. What is clear to me is that if there were, the chances of his seeing it were negligible. Certainly the China lobby picture of groaning masses eagerly awaiting liberation by Chiangsters from Formosa is utter and pernicious nonsense—but I wonder whether it will be most effectively debunked by this paean of praise.

L. TOMKINSON.

## The Eastern Church

Christians and Communists, A Study of relations between Church and State in Eastern Europe. National Peace Council, 2s.

**RENDER** unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." The NPC's recent Peace Aims pamphlet, the result of prolonged study by a group including pacifists and non-pacifists and ranging from Roman Catholic to Quaker, deals with the application of Christ's famous saying in a concrete situation today.

Its 36 pages are all marked by the attempt to be fair to each side in the conflict. Though the members of the group obviously belong to the western democratic tradition, they have allotted considerable space to an exposition of the views of those Christians in Eastern Europe, who have come out strongly in favour of the political programme of Communism, by a leading churchman of this group, Bishop Bereczky, of Hungary.

The pamphlet opens with a brief discussion of the general principles underlying the relationship of Church and State. The difficulty of adequately defining the proper sphere of each is admitted, while the fatal results arising from the identification of the Church with any particular political regime or economic system are rightly stressed.

No attempt is made to gloss over the anti-religious elements in Marxist philosophy, though—with a telling comparison from the relations between Christianity and Islam—the possibility of peaceful coexistence between the two creeds is by no means excluded.

Most space is devoted to a survey of conditions in Eastern Europe since the last war. The emphasis here is laid, not on constitutional provisions which can often be nullified by subsequent legislative or administrative action, but on actual practice.

The writers have been careful to back their general statements with well-authenticated

## He takes peace to the villages

# KENNETH RAWLINGS

By Robert Greacen

**LEWES** is a charming Sussex town. It appears at first sight to be the embodiment of everything usual and conventional; yet it was there, in the Bull House, Westgate, that Tom Paine lived from 1768 to 1774. The sixteenth century house (now a restaurant) and the Castle that dominates the town are well worth a visit.

Near the Castle one finds St. Michael's Church. The present parish of St. Michael dates back to the union of several parishes in 1545; and the original foundation is believed to be Norman. The Church itself has one or two details of architectural interest, but would hardly find a place among the really beautiful old English Churches.

Among the expected notices there is one of a less usual kind: a neatly typed sheet which draws the worshipper's (or stray visitor's) attention to the Lewes Council for the Prevention of War.

The Vicar, Rev. Kenneth Rawlings, is one of the keenest sponsors of this anti-War group. Previously in Birmingham, he has spent the last twenty-seven years in Lewes. He helped to found the Peace Pledge Union and Fellowship of Reconciliation groups in the town. Now he finds there is less response than formerly to the preaching of pacifism because many people consider that a personal renunciation of war is not enough. In his opinion many think that if the world is to be saved from catastrophe something must be done quickly. He feels that pacifism is not yet sufficiently widespread to be a practical policy in preventing a third world war.

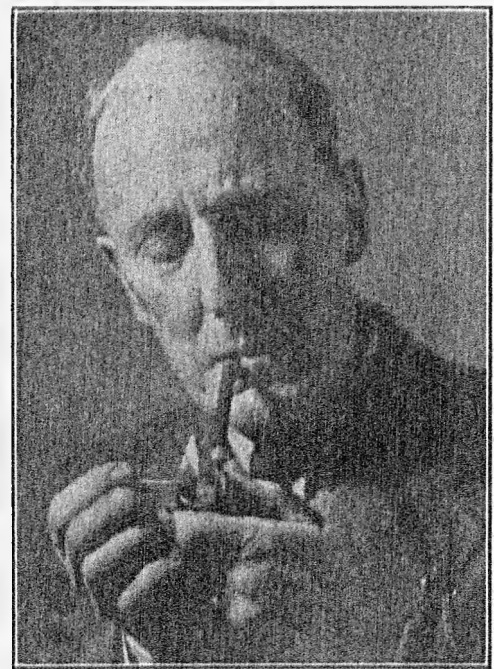
For this reason Mr. Rawlings supports the British Peace Committee of which he is a member. Of course he knows very well that a majority of politically minded people of whatever Party regard the BPC as Communist inspired. Mr. Rawlings does not hold this opinion, but, in any case, he thinks it is clearly right and necessary to co-operate with Communists on the peace issue. He believes that the World Council of Peace, which includes Communists and non-Communists, "is a powerful force on the side of a genuine international settlement."

Mr. Rawlings speaks appreciatively of the tolerance and understanding of his Bishop, Dr. Bell of Chichester. It will be remembered that during the last War Dr. Bell let loose a storm by denouncing indiscriminate R.A.F. area bombing. The local peace association—its members are pacifist, Labour and Communist—come up against little active opposition, but a good deal of passive opposition and apathy.

They have planned a big open-air demonstration this summer to which members of all the local peace groups, religious and secular, have been invited. Speakers have already been sent to some of the villages near Lewes, where people, less influenced by anti-peace propaganda in the national

press, are fairly sympathetic and willing to sign petitions. During Lent, talks and discussions on peace were held in Church House after the Sunday evening Service; speakers invited included Dr. Belden, R. W. Sorensen M.P., and Canon Collins.

We talked in the Rectory about how distrust, born of ignorance of other peoples, leads to



fear and war. And Mr. Rawlings spoke of his interest in the new social developments in China, and how necessary it was to try to understand the reasons for the Communist revolution in that country.

Rev. Kenneth Rawlings may or may not be right in thinking it possible for pacifists to work with the Communists and their sympathisers on the peace issue. That debate continues in the columns of Peace News and elsewhere. There can be no doubt that he is the kind of priest who feels keenly that every time war is condoned by a Christian Christ has been once again betrayed.

Let me end by recalling some of his words in a striking Armistice address delivered in Lewes Town Hall (and reprinted in a pamphlet form) in 1934 when he said "Christianity must go out when the guns begin to go off." Later in the address he made this solemn pledge "in the sight of the great army of the dead":

*I declare that as long as I live I will hate and denounce and oppose war; war in every shape and form; war of aggression or war of defence; war in any circumstances; war under any pretext or provocation.*

He is a man who, unlike so many others who made similar pledges in those uneasy decades between great wars, has not allowed the light of Christian conscience to go out.

## Another research worker tells why

Last week we published Mr. David Rendel's explanation of why he is engaged in research for purposes of atomic warfare. In *The Listener* for July 30 Mr. W. H. Cazaly gives his explanation which we reproduce here.

I support my dependants by work deliberately aimed at destroying life, happiness, and wealth, as do thousands of scientists and technicians on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

David Rendel, if he is a family man, is one of us, I gather. Rightly he speaks only for himself, because he seems to render willingly to Caesar what that monstrous cretin demands of him; whereas I (speaking, too, only for myself) render it unwillingly.

In that difference lie our respective degrees of responsibility for the results of the work we do.

Responsibility is a function of willing and knowing. If a man willingly and knowingly does a bad, he must take the responsibility for it. If he does not know it is a bad, or if he does it unwillingly, under threat of penalty and/or persecution if he refuses and with no tolerable alternative means of subsistence available to him, he cannot be held responsible. That is the situation in which, whether they are in a majority or a minority, a large number of scientists and technicians of the west and the east find themselves.

facts; and they point out that practice is no means uniform throughout Eastern Europe where indeed the so-called satellite countries are less far "advanced" towards Communism than Russia itself.

The subject is of course too large to be covered in one short pamphlet. But the omission of any mention, for instance, of the forcible incorporation of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church of Western Ukraine into the Russian Orthodox Church is rather surprising. I would have liked, too, to have seen a few words about the pro-regime groups of Roman Catholic priests and laymen, which are particularly strong among the Czechs. There is no mention, either, of the suppression of Jehovah's Witnesses in Eastern Europe, which might have interested pacifist readers.

While rejecting the term "persecution" as an adequate description of the relationship between Church and State in Eastern Europe, the writers nevertheless conclude that Communists, exceeding the legitimate rights of the State to act in its own defence, are attempting in their present policy:

"to prevent Christian people from fulfilling their true function in society, by acting according to their conscience, and from making spiritual insight the supreme guide to conduct. The more vigorously the Church is fulfilling its prophetic mission, the greater the attempt to reduce it to a position of impotence."

By helping towards a proper understanding of the present situation, this pamphlet, makes a real contribution towards the goal of reconciliation.

PETER BROCK.

## A FARMER'S LOG BOOK

A few weeks ago Michael Randle and his family moved to a new farm in Sussex. Michael is a young conscientious objector now performing alternative national service on the land. He is deeply concerned with the problems of food production and land care in an age which has ravished and misused the soil. In occasional jottings Michael Randle will tell the story of Church Farm and its progress.

I would be unfair to the previous owner to say that this farm, which we took over in June, has been neglected. The crops are moderately good, the milk production high and the pastures compare favourably with most round about.

But it has a long way to go before it can be considered really fertile. A soil analysis taken recently showed, what we had suspected anyway, that the soil is deficient in lime and humus. This is particularly evident in the case of a three acre strip of barley in another field under oats. The barley is short, with a poor head, and the oats are little better.

The root of the trouble is the fact that pasture and arable have been rigidly divided. The arable needs a good rest and dividing into mixed leys for grazing, cropping or manuring. The pastures need the plough, why hasn't such an obvious step been taken before?

We soon discovered the reason. At present only a few of the permanent pastures have water supply, and none of the arable fields. Before we can carry out our plans, there will be the job of extending the supply a big and expensive item. Obviously "good fertility" isn't going to be so easy!

Meanwhile we have ordered 250 tons of lime to start the credit balance going. We are also considering sewerage sludge to build up the humus content.

But perhaps the greatest reform of all has been the mowing of a bracken-infested pasture and the incorporation of this material into a compost heap.

We are greatly looking forward to the time when it has rotted down to that rich friable mould that is so vital to the well-being of soil, and ultimately to the health and happiness of mankind.

Michael Randle

## Leav note

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Michael Randle

Leaves from a  
notebook...

It was good to see the front page of the British Weekly, a challenging Christian journal, given over recently to an article on conscription by John Ferguson of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

He pulled no punches in his criticism of the Government's proposals. If they are passed he writes, "the conscript will be committing himself in advance to any war which any government may declare during the next ten years."

"The regular army soldier commits himself to that with his eyes open, but there is surely something wrong when a great weight of social opinion and legislation directs every young man to make such a commitment."

"It is doubtful whether such an imposition is morally justified at all: at the very least provision should be made for the emergence of genuine conscientious objection during the period following full-time service."

It was a grand piece of writing, and was followed by editorial comment which said:

"It is not too early for Christian people, pacifist and non-pacifist alike, to begin thinking about the case they wish to make to their MPs when the National Service Act comes up for review."

## For Carshalton readers

An important point was made at a meeting of the London Area of the PPU last week during a discussion on the Conscription Campaign.

It was that groups should not fail to write to or send deputations to their MPs just because in some cases they were known as firm supporters of conscription and the military science myth.

Such MPs should listen with more respect to opponents of conscription in the House if they knew from their own experience that opposition really does exist.

Readers in Carshalton, please note.

Perhaps I should explain for overseas readers that Carshalton is represented in Parliament by Brigadier Head, War Minister (Hon. Sandhurst and the Life Guards).

## Eight stand in

TONY BRADSHAW (this column July 24) asks me to point out that he is only one of a team of eight people from Kingsway Hall, who will take their turn in occupying Dr. Soper's Hyde Park Stand during the next twelve months on those occasions when the President of the Methodist Conference cannot be present, and also that he has an equally faithful helper in Peace News selling at Hyde Park.

Congratulations to Kingsway Hall, on providing eight "stand ins" for such a famous speaker.

ony, employed in the Radiotherapy department of Barts, should have been described as a pacifist, not a radiologist. The former is a scientifically trained whilst the latter is medically trained.

## Peacemaker

RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS  
111 Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

## ★ DIARY ★

This is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We are unable to make it as complete as we reasonably can, and therefore the organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and in full.

ABREVIATIONS: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, APF; Fellowship of Reconciliation, F.R.; Methodist Peace Fellowship, MPF; National Peace Council, NPC; Peace with Honour, PWH; Peace Pledge Union, P.P.U.; Society of Friends, S.F.

## Friday, August 7

LONDON, LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; 5. Pspalton (off Gt. George's Rd.). Business and Social. Meetings 7th day of each month. Secretary: Sheila White, 44 Downhills Rd., Weymouth, Dorset. P.P.U.

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30 p.m.; St. Martin's Fields. Intercession service for peace. Secretary: Michael Segal, APF, For, PPU.

BALGATUCK, MICHIGAN: Westminster For National Conference. Workshop for 10 days previously. AFOR.

## Sunday, August 9

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Open-air meeting. Queens Park Gate. Every Sunday. PPU.

PARKE: 6 p.m.; Speakers' Corner. Hyde Park. Open-air meeting. PPU.

## Wednesday, August 12

LONDON, W.C.2: 7 p.m.; 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. Discussion on future plans. Non-sewerage sludge to build a house.

## Thursday, August 13

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, Bush Rd. Archie Donald. "Class and the Church." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields: open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman. PPU.

## Friday, August 14

DENVER, COLORADO: Red Rocks Camp. National Conference. For National Conference. Workshop three days previously. AFOR.

## Letters to the Editor

## The German voter

IN Peace NEWS of July, 10, you published a letter from a young East German Communist, and you comment on a statement in this letter.

He says: "What our Government and Party and the Police have done this week, and done with a certain pluck, would not have been possible in Adenauer's republic."

Your comment is: "What is possible, however, is that later on this year at the polls Adenauer and his fellow-ministers may be removed without any treason trials or angry demonstrations in the streets by the workers. If the Adenauer Government is not thus removed it will mean that the West German workers do not want its removal."

We must not overlook the fact that the electoral law in West Germany has been amended recently by the Adenauer Government with the express object of making it more difficult for candidates with left-wing views to be elected. During the past two years the electoral laws in Greece, France and Italy were amended for the same purpose.

Can we say that under the present electoral law in West Germany that the Adenauer Government can be removed from office by an election?

The question of free all-German elections is assuming great importance at the present time. In 1951 the East German Government proposed that all-German elections be held under the same provisions as elections were conducted in the Weimar Republic which were the last free all-German elections that were held before Hitler took control.

In the interest of peace we must be sure that when all-German elections are held they will be really free and that they are held under such conditions that the poll will reveal the real views of the German People. A government elected under conditions which give certain groups advantages over other groups will not lay the foundations for a peaceful settlement of the German question.

JESSIE M. G. STREET.

559 Park West, Edgware Rd., W.1

(There is at this stage no more reason to believe that all German elections for a unified Germany would be held under the electoral law of Western Germany which discriminates against minorities in its own way than that they would be held under the electoral law of East Germany, where the last elections were a one-party affair and people had to choose between abstaining or voting for a "national front" candidate. We were not seeking to show our Communist correspondent that East Germany had a satisfactory electoral

Paddington and Sheffield  
refuse Peace News

PADDINGTON (London) Library Committee has decided to remove Peace News from the list of periodicals it provides. The grounds for this decision are not known.

In Sheffield the PPU Group has been pressing the Library Committee to take Peace News, but the request has been turned down.

Since Peace News is already widely read in these districts there is a strong case for displaying the paper and it is hoped that local readers will press their Librarians to bring this matter before the Committees again.

Letters supported by a number of other local residents should have greater effect.

H. F. M.

system—any more than our own can be regarded as providing for the essentials of democracy. All we asked him to face was that a government that had become so unpopular as the events of June 16-17 showed the East German Government to be could be removed by means of the electoral machinery in West Germany—as it could be in this country—whereas in East Germany it could not. —Ed.)

## Community life

If a large proportion of the community, especially in the West were engaged in "delving and spinning" instead of living to a large extent (as we all do) on colonial exploitation, we would be making a practical contribution to the starving millions.

This is exactly what Mr. Barrington and his colleagues are trying to do.

Many of us regard J. P. Hogan's "normal human groupings" (PN July 17) as the cradle in which the human beings, as part of our disordered society, are conditioned.

In this view we are supported by the most enlightened sociologist and psychologist of our time, Wilhelm Reich. He claims that Fascism, in a broad sense of extreme authoritarianism, is a basic emotional attitude and "mechanistic-mystical character" of mankind internationally.

This emotional character is built up within what are regarded as "normal human groupings"—the patriarchal family—and as such is a basic cause of war.

It is this point of view that makes many of us think that political action (apart from being a product of such conditioning) is futile.

ALAN ALBON.

Daisygreen, Grotton, Nr. Boxford, Colchester, Essex.

## Hope for the final victory

I BEG to express real gratitude for the admirable activity of Peace News, serving the idea of peace with unaltered strength and with inexhaustible variety.

It is just wonderful for us to read the ideas, for which we stand so firm, expressed on such a high level, strengthening thus our fervent hope for the final victory of our ideals.

Thanks, many thanks for all your heroic work.

(Mrs.) IRMA SZIRMAL.

Budapest, V. Perczel Mor u.2, Hungary.

## THE FUTURE OF INDIA

Dehumanisation in Modern Society, by Rene Filop-Miller, 9d. A Vision of Future India, by K. G. Mashruwala, 1s. 6d. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, India. (Obtainable Housmans Bookshop).

THESE two booklets are part of the great controversy that is taking place in India whether her economic and social development shall proceed on Western or on Gandhian lines.

The former is by a Hungarian-born refugee from Nazi tyranny who is now an American citizen and a teacher of sociology. The latter is by that faithful follower of Gandhi who on his untimely passing last year was editor of Harijan, the paper which Gandhi founded and edited.

Dehumanization in Modern Society is a forceful description of the processes which have reduced man to the abstraction he is

today. The age of the mass man is attended by such horrors as mass tyrannies, mass migrations and mass murder, and this account is published by Gandhians as a warning of the fate which awaits India should she decide to tread the Western road.

A Vision of Future India is a personal interpretation of Gandhi's concept of an India of Village Republics, followed by a correspondence between the author and Mr. P. K. Patil, a member of the Planning Commission, who, while desiring to further village development, advocates methods based on capitalist rather than on human values.

Gandhi still troubles the conscience of the Indian Congress, including its political high-lights. Hence there is hope that India may provide the true alternative to capitalism which so far both Communism and Socialism have failed to do.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Jox No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

## MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Library and Scientific Institute, 11 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WICH House Church, Oak Street, Haverhill, Suffolk. Sunday at 7. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B. Litt.

## ACCOMMODATION WANTED AND OFFERED

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Beautiful walking country, happy fellowship, restful comfort. Send for particulars. Ronald and Marguerite Heymans, The Belars Vegetarian Guest House, Clich, nr. Matlock, Ambergate 44.

HASTINGS. OAKHURST Hotel, The Ridge. Tel. 515411. Beautiful extensive grounds. Sun lounges, tennis, putting, badminton. Happy atmosphere and excellent food. You'll enjoy yourself at Oakhurst. Meat or vegetarian menu. Brochure.

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